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**DEFENCE AND  
SECURITY**

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## **NATO Parliamentary Assembly**

INTERNATIONAL AFDELING  
ATT: ASSISTENT  
FR. MONICA KRENKEL

### **SUMMARY**

of the meeting of the Defence and Security Committee  
Palazzo del Casino, Lido, Venice, Italy

Saturday 13 and Sunday 14 November 2004



**ATTENDANCE LIST****Acting Chairman**

Franco Angioni (Italy)  
*Vice-Chairman*

**General Rapporteur**

Pierre Lellouche (France)

**Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee  
on Transatlantic Defence and  
Security Co-operation**

John Shimkus (United States)

**Acting Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee  
on Future Security and  
Defence Capabilities**

John Smith (United Kingdom)

**President of the NATO-PA**

Douglas Bereuter (United States)

**Secretary General of the NATO-PA**

Simon Lunn

**Member Delegations**

Belgium

Jacques Devolder

Bulgaria

Jean-Pol Henry

Canada

Nikolai Kamov

Claude Bachand

Jane Cordy

Czech Republic

Joseph A. Day

Antonin Seda

Pavel Severa

Denmark

Ulrik Kragh

Estonia

Sven Mikser

Toomas Tein

France

Jean-Michel Boucheron

Jean-Guy Branger

Germany

Wolfgang Börnsen

Helga Daub

Monika Heubaum

Robert Hochbaum

Gerd Höfer

Winfried Nachtwei

Kurt J. Rossmanith

Thomas Röwekamp

Gottfried Timm

Greece

Georgios Kalantzis

Andreas Likourentzos

Iceland

Magnús Stefánsson

Italy

Giovanni Lorenzo Forcieri

Furio Gubetti

Sergio Mattarella

Mario Palombo

Latvia

Aleksandrs Kiršteins

Dzintars Rasnacs

Lithuania

Rasa Juknevičienė

|                |                                |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| Luxembourg     | Jean-Pierre Koepp              |
| Netherlands    | Fred Sunnen                    |
| Norway         | Tiny Kox                       |
|                | Gunnar Halvorsen               |
|                | Per Ove Width                  |
| Poland         | Danuta Grabowska               |
|                | Pawel Gras                     |
|                | Zbyszek Zaborowski             |
| Portugal       | Manuel Filipe Correia de Jesus |
|                | Julio Miranda Calha            |
|                | Rui Miguel Ribeiro             |
| Romania        | Attila Verestoy                |
| Slovakia       | Jozef Bucek                    |
| Spain          | Manuel Atencia                 |
|                | Hilario Caballero              |
|                | Maria Rosario Juaneda          |
|                | Jordi Marsal                   |
|                | Alejandro Muñoz-Alonso         |
| Turkey         | Vahit Erdem                    |
|                | Muharrem Karsli                |
|                | Mehmet Nessar                  |
| United Kingdom | Sir Menzies Campbell           |
|                | Lord Clark of Windermere       |
|                | Bruce George                   |
| United States  | Michael Bilirakis              |
|                | Ellen Tauscher                 |
|                | Tom Udall                      |

#### **Associate delegations**

|                                            |                     |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Albania                                    | Sabit Brokaj        |
|                                            | Bamir Topi          |
| Armenia                                    | Artur Petrosyan     |
| Austria                                    | Maximilian Hofmann  |
|                                            | Walter Murauer      |
|                                            | Katharina Pfeffer   |
| Azerbaijan                                 | Siyavush Novruzov   |
| Croatia                                    | Kresimir Cosic      |
|                                            | Marin Jurjevic      |
|                                            | Velimir Plesa       |
| Finland                                    | Kauko Juhantalo     |
| Georgia                                    | Nicholas Rurua      |
| Russian Federation                         | Vassiliy Klyuchenok |
|                                            | Victor A. Ozerov    |
|                                            | Vladimir Vassiliev  |
|                                            | Victor Zavarzin     |
|                                            | Andrey Zhukov       |
| Sweden                                     | Hakan Juholt        |
|                                            | Asa Lindestam       |
| Switzerland                                | Hermann Bürgi       |
|                                            | Edi Engelberger     |
| The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* | Slobodan Casule     |
|                                            | Esad Rahic          |

\* Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name

Ukraine

Volodymyr Zaplatynskyi

**The European Parliament**

Ana Maria R.M. Gomes  
Vasco Graça Moura  
Geoffrey van Orden  
Pawel Piskorski

**Parliamentary Observers**

Japan

Shintaro Ito  
Masataka Suzuki  
Aleksandar Zuric

Serbia and Montenegro

**Parliamentary Guests**

Algeria  
Mauritania

Mahdjoub Bedda  
Cherif Ahmed Ould Mohamed Moussa

**Speakers**

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, Defence Chief of Staff,  
Ministry of Defence, Italy  
Julian Lindley-French, Course Director, Geneva  
Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland  
Antonio Martino, Defence Minister, Italy  
Admiral Michael G. Mullen, Commander, NATO  
Joint Forces Command, Naples  
Alessandro Politi, Independent Analyst of Strategic  
and Intelligence Policy, Open Source  
Intelligence, Italy

**Committee Secretary**

Sylvia Hartleif

**International Secretariat**

Zachary Selden, director of the Committee  
Valérie Geffroy, co-ordinator of the Committee  
Alex Dowling, research assistant  
Filippo Gamba, research assistant

Vice-Chairman **Franco Angioni** (IT) chaired the meeting of the Committee at the 50th Annual Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

### **Guest speakers**

**Presentation by Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, Defence Chief of Staff, Italian Ministry of Defence, on *NATO transformation: the Italian perspective*.**

Admiral Di Paola discussed the political and the operational transformation of NATO. The political dimension is characterised by out reach initiatives such as the Istanbul Co-operation Initiative. However, Admiral Di Paola stressed that political developments must be underpinned by operational capabilities, otherwise new initiatives would remain hollow. Operational transformation should be based on three principles: multinationalism, 'jointness' (all military components acting together), and 'best effect' operations (political and civilian components to reinforce military operations).

**John Shimkus** (US) asked about the cost of operational transformation and whether it represented a good investment. Admiral Di Paola said there were two competing arguments. One envisaged greater costs and another simply required better spending. He believed that the reality was probably somewhere between the two. **Tiny Kox** (NL) asked how it is possible to transform a military organisation without political consensus on its new objectives. Admiral Di Paola responded that the necessary operational military tools would be similar regardless of the exact type of deployment. Asked by **Geoffrey van Orden** (EP) about EU attempts at transformation, Admiral Di Paola welcomed efforts through the European Security and Defence Policy to initiate changes.

**Presentation by Admiral Michael G. Mullen, Commander, NATO Joint Forces Command, Naples, on *JFC Naples' Current Operations and NATO-EU Security Co-operation*.**

**Admiral Mullen** reported that after his first month as Commander of JFC Naples, he was convinced of the strength, capability and deployability of his forces. He outlined four operations currently under his command. In the Balkans, operations Joint Guardian (KFOR) in Kosovo and Joint Forge (SFOR) in Bosnia were now part of a unified command and control for the region. This joint operations area allowed for a rapid deployment of SFOR troops to contain tensions in Kosovo in March 2004. NATO's aim in the Balkans, he continued, was the reduction of troop levels whilst maintaining security through other forms of engagement, such as defence reform and Partnership for Peace (PfP). In Kosovo, enhanced NATO capabilities would be best served by more crowd control capabilities, fewer caveats, and improved manoeuvrability. Admiral Mullen reported that Operation Active Endeavour, the maritime interception initiative in the Mediterranean, had dramatically reduced human trafficking and illegal immigration in the region. Finally, Admiral Mullen described the NATO training mission to Iraq, agreed in June 2004, which was recently expanded to establish a NATO-supported Iraqi Training, Education and Doctrine Centre.

Responding to a question from **Rui Miguel Ribeiro** (PT) on the restrictions imposed by national caveats, Admiral Mullen informed the Committee that, in Kosovo, countries were lifting their national caveats under pressure from SACEUR. Additionally, he pointed out that the challenge of using forces of limited capabilities was as much of a restriction as those limited by caveats. Expanding on the situation in Kosovo, he reported that few displaced Serbs had returned to the region, indicating that the root causes of unrest in March 2004 had not diminished.

**Presentation by Antonio Martino, Minister of Defence of Italy.**

**Mr Martino** argued that adaptability was the most important asset of the Alliance. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the threats have changed from global war to global terror. Mr Martino identified two key concepts for the alliance: international interoperability and usability. Rapid deployment and the

development of niche capabilities by small countries are also important. NATO, he concluded, is an organisation based on shared values, and sustained military transformation would ensure its future relevance.

Much of the discussion focused on the capabilities and spending gap between the US and Europe. **Julio Miranda Calha** (PT) asked if specialisation could be a means of resolving the capabilities gap. Mr Martino responded that it could be, but that the capabilities gap was even wider than the financial gap because of duplication of efforts within the EU. **Sven Mikser** (EE) believed that the financial gap was critical and that progress was unlikely as long as national parliaments viewed defence budgets as the most convenient place to cut back on spending. Mr Martino agreed noting that defence remained the easiest item to cut in national budgets because it did not offer immediate and visible results for the public. **Victor Zavarzin** (RU) recommended closer co-operation on anti-terrorism measures between NATO and Russia and the drafting of a concept document for that purpose. **Giovanni Lorenzo Forcieri** (IT) turned to the issue of transatlantic relations and terrorism. He believed that it was a problem of different approaches to terrorism, not different perceptions of threat. Mr Martino pointed out that separating Europe's preventative politics from American preventative war was not possible and that both are necessary. **Ellen Tauscher** (US) responded that the US did not see pre-emptive war as the only answer but that the new asymmetrical environment demanded a multi-dimensional response. She added that US policy towards North Korea and Iran demonstrated the US commitment to such an approach.

**Presentation by Julian Lindley-French, Course Director, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, on *The State and Development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)***

**Mr Lindley-French** explained that the Helsinki Headline Goal, to establish a European Rapid Reaction Force, remained a work in progress. More so than NATO, ESDP suffers from a lack of usable forces, particularly for the higher end of the Petersberg Tasks. There are two levels of transformation for ESDP: the grand strategic and the security-operational. That transformation would require at least one defence planning cycle of ten to fifteen years to materialise. Mr Lindley-French asserted that NATO remains a central institution for maintaining a US presence, avoiding re-nationalisation of security and defence, and for providing a framework for emerging European capabilities. The EU's centre of gravity for its members, the complexity of the strategic environment and the desire for autonomy were all drivers for ESDP to succeed, he argued. On the other hand, it was constrained by disagreements over its nature and role and the leadership of the US. In concluding, Mr Lindley-French stated that ESDP is here to stay and its relationship with NATO will be determined by developments in the next four years.

**Geoffrey van Orden** (EP) challenged the utility of NATO and ESDP pursuing the same aims, to which Mr Lindley-French replied that EU strategic autonomy would allow Europe to act where the US was reluctant. In response to **Vahit Erdem's** (TR) question on NATO-ESDP compatibility, Mr Lindley-French said that he believed the capabilities gap would endure but that it could be managed. **Kresimir Cosic** (HR) raised the issue of niche capabilities in the EU and Mr Lindley-French explained the EU idea for a clearinghouse system of integrating different European forces together into battle groups. **Rui Miguel Ribeiro** (PT) asked if ESDP was an unnecessary addition and that if NATO was sufficient, to which Mr Lindley-French warned that a failure to ensure co-operation between the EU and NATO could persuade the big powers to act outside of institutional frameworks.

**Presentation by Alessandro Politi, Independent analyst, on *Europe-USA: a new Atlantic Relationship*.**

Mr Politi believed that NATO faced a choice between "slowly dying" and starting "on a completely new basis". This meant drafting a replacement to the North Atlantic Treaty encompassing the entirety of the Atlantic, including South America and Africa. Both continents are failing to establish

viable democracies and the efforts of the EU and USA in those regions have been so far insufficient. NATO's global mission in the new millennium makes this a logical step. Mr Politi also envisaged a new balance of interests based around distinct, integrated command chains for the USA and EU which could be interoperable, or "joinable", when required. The division of labour approach, he argued, was unrealistic. Both sides needed to retain the capacity to act along the full spectrum of tasks.

**Menzies Campbell** (UK) believed that NATO did not need a new treaty but instead a new transatlantic bargain. Mr Politi responded that a re-evaluation of basic principles was needed and that negotiations over the EU constitution had showed this to be possible. Replying to a question by **Vahit Erdem** (TR) about the lack of common transatlantic values on which to base a new treaty, Mr Politi identified transatlantic values as a force for good in confronting the threat of terrorism. **Manuel Filipe Correia de Jesus** (PT) asked what the new NATO would do, to which Mr Politi replied that it should intervene to prevent crises in the Atlantic area, whilst supporting economic development in South America and Africa. **Claude Bachand** (CA) offered the view that NATO was already unwieldy with 26 members and that the addition of two continents to its area of responsibility would make it less effective.

### Reports

**Pierre Lellouche** (FR) presented the General Report of the Committee *Operations in Afghanistan and the Expanding NATO Role*. The Report was supplemented by a brief update on events in Afghanistan since the drafting of the Report in September. In general the Report finds genuine progress in building a stable and representative Afghanistan, but notes that the task ahead is vast and will require a long term commitment from the members of the NATO Alliance.

Several members of the Committee including **Julio Miranda Calha** (PT) underlined the importance of confronting the narcotics trafficking problem in Afghanistan and the need to develop a long-term strategy. The General Rapporteur reported that no clear strategy appeared to be in place to tackle the drug problem and underlined the need to focus the attention of the international community on this seminal issue. Some believed it was better to co-opt warlords gradually, whilst others argued in favour of dismantling the drug network. **Tiny Kox** (NL) asked what would happen if a democratically elected "narco-state" resulted from next year's elections. **Winfried Nachtwei** (DE) asked about how to build coherent policies between the various international organizations working in Afghanistan. The General Rapporteur suggested that a steering Committee might be needed to coordinate the wide variety of international and non-governmental organizations working to construct a viable state in Afghanistan.

**The Draft General Report [158 DSC 04 E Rev.1] was adopted by the Committee.**

**John Shimkus** (US) presented the Report of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation, *Alliance-wide progress on meeting the Prague Capability Commitments*. The Report finds both areas of progress and significant problems in filling gaps in Alliance capabilities. **Ellen Tauscher** (US) said that coalitions of the capable, not merely coalitions of the willing, were needed. **Lord Clark of Windermere** (UK) noted that the Report accurately cites a UK Parliamentary Defence Committee Report that is highly critical of the Ministry of Defence's procurement efforts, but fails to note the Ministry of Defence's strong rebuttal to that Report. The Rapporteur agreed to consider altering the paragraph in question to reflect this.

**The Draft Report [160 DSCTC 04 E] was adopted by the Committee.**

**John Smith** (UK) presented the Report of the Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities, *The Development of Response Forces in NATO and the EU and the Evolving NATO-EU Relationship*. The Report notes the progress in both NATO and the EU in developing

response forces, considers ways for the two organizations to harmonize their requirements and strengthen the relationship, and examines the transition between a NATO force and an EU force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Geoffrey van Orden** (EP) stressed that the European Rapid Reaction Force did not provide new forces but was simply a collection of pre-existing forces under different political control. He believed that it was important to make the public aware of that fact.

**Lord Clark of Windermere** (UK) noted several inaccuracies in the Report, and issues which had been overtaken by events since the drafting of the Report in September. He submitted those in writing to be included in the final version of the Report.

**The Draft Report [159 DSCFC 04 E] was adopted by the Committee with the understanding that those changes and corrections would be made.**

#### **Resolution of the Defence and Security Committee**

**The General Rapporteur** presented the draft resolution on *NATO Operations in Afghanistan*. Noting the discussion of the previous day, the General Rapporteur proposed adding two phrases to emphasize the concerns of the Committee about the narcotics traffic and the impact of the mission on the credibility of other international organizations besides NATO. The Committee approved those oral amendments and considered a total of eight written amendments. One amendment was withdrawn, The remaining seven, three of which were altered and voted on as amended, were approved by the Committee.

**The Draft Resolution [193 DSC 04 E] was approved overwhelmingly but not unanimously by the Committee.**

#### **Elections**

All Committee officers eligible for re-election were re-elected.

**Julio Miranda Calha** (PT) was elected to replace **Pierre Lellouche** (FR) who vacates the position to become President of the Parliamentary Assembly. **Sven Mikser** (EE) was elected as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation. **Joseph A. Day** (CA) was elected as Vice-Chairman of the same Sub-Committee. **Ellen Tauscher** (US) and **Pawel Gras** (PL) were elected as Vice-Chairmen's of the Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities. **John Smith** (UK) was elected as Rapporteur of that Sub-Committee.

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